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PREFACE.

The information presented in this report was collected for the most part during a tour in the Hadhramaut in 1934-5. Apart from this tour the report owes a good deal to subsequent visits to Mukalla up to March of this year, and to two years almost continuous contact with the affairs of the country. Valuable information connected with colonies of Hadhramis in other countries has also been supplied by the administrations and others concerned.

I set out on the tour referred to, accompanied by my wife and Khan Sahib Hasan Muhammad Salih Ja'fer, who has rendered many political services to the Government, on 29th October 1934. We left Aden for Mukalla by steamship, and after five days there went by donkey to the Wadi Du'an where we stayed two nights in 'Aura, and continued on donkeys to Henin. From Henin we drove to Shibam by car, and after a short stay journeyed on camels through part of the almost unknown Sei'ar country. We made a slight detour to visit the tomb of the Prophet Salih in the Wadi Khonab, and then followed the Wadis Ser and Sodaf to the northern watershed, returning to Shibam by the Wadi Qubhudh, where the inhabitants, members of the Harizi tribe, live in caves in the walls of the wadi. On our return to the Wadi Hadhramaut we went by car to Tarim where we spent a few days. During our time in the Wadi Hadhramaut we paid three short visits to Seiyun. From Tarim we travelled with camels down the hitherto unexplored Wadi Maseila, visiting Qabr Hud, the most sacred site in the Hadhramaut, and finally reached Seihut after passing through the country of the Mahra people. From Seihut we took a dhow to Shihr and after two days returned to Mukalla by car. Here we spent a further week and arrived back in Aden by steamship on New Year's Day, 1935.

Among the principal objects of the tour were an enquiry into the social, economic, and political conditions of the country, and the making of contacts with its rulers and people. In the course of this work a considerable amount of material was collected which can be classified as follows :—

1. *Political.*—Apart from information as to the political situation, collected from representatives of all sections of the population, I obtained much material on the various tribes of the country and the inhabitants generally. A great deal of this was taken down verbally during the journey, and much was contained in reports and notes given to me by many of the important authorities and inhabitants with whom I came in contact. Information regarding the Mahras has been omitted from the report.

2. *Economic and Social.*—A considerable amount of information was obtained, by observation and from different sources, on the condition of the people, their methods of living, their industries and the resources of the country, as well as on the finance and

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121 organization of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri states, whose dominions together make up the country referred to in this report as the Hadhramaut.

3. *Geographical.*—A complete watch and compass traverse was made of all the route traversed on foot, on donkey, or on camel. When travelling by car all mileages were recorded. Topographical notes in very full detail were made along the whole of the route. The heights of all halts were taken by aneroid barometer, and temperatures were also recorded. We took 1,330 photographs and 800 feet of cinema film.

4. *Natural History.*—Specimens collected included one mammal, one reptile, one batrachian, 330 insects, spiders, scorpions, centipedes and crustacea, six fossils, eight mineral specimens and 160 botanical specimens. These were all forwarded to the British Museum and reports received. A tin of Du'an honey was also forwarded through the Colonial Office to the Imperial Institute for analysis and report. The report is incorporated in Chapter VII.

5. *Archaeological.*—Although a large number of fragments of inscriptions and other objects were obtained, it does not seem likely that they will prove of exceptional interest. A collection of objects from a Himyaritic tomb in Tarim and some possible stone implements were sent to Professor C. G. Seligman, and I have received some notes from him. He considers the principal feature of interest to be the discovery of sites of manufactories of obsidian, chert, and flint instruments. Various other inscriptions in the country hitherto unrecorded were photographed or copied. The language and characters of one painted inscription found in the Wadi Maseila have not yet been fully determined. Dr. A. S. Tritton of the School of Oriental Studies, who has examined it, has indicated certain similarities, apart from Himyaritic, to Ethiopic and to the North Arabian alphabets of Thamud and Safa.

The information referred to in the first two heads above is included in this report. The remainder, which includes the description of the country visited, has been partly dealt with in papers to the Royal Geographical and Royal Central Asian Societies, and may be made available in other forms.

114 124 I must claim some indulgence for this report, as it will be understood that comparatively speaking the length of time spent in the country was very short. It will be readily understood also that with the wholesale collection of information in a short time it is not possible to obtain all the check desirable, and many of the statements made depend on a single informant. It is however useful that as much as possible should be recorded so that, as opportunity occurs, the information given may be revised.

000 I should like to take this opportunity of acknowledging the great assistance I received from my wife and Khan Sahib Hasan Muhammad on the journey. It would not have been possible to obtain as much information and material without their assistance.

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At this time, too, they had their connection with the East African coast for the *Periplus* says that it was governed " under some ancient right that subjects it to the sovereignty of the state that is become first in Arabia."[1]

Even in the Arabian Nights do we find reference to this emigration of the Hadhramis. As will be seen the Hadhramis almost universally maintain a connection with and an affection for their native land so that it will be of interest to give the following quotation :

" In time he reached Lahej where he found a ship ready to sail for India ; so he shipped on board and made Calicut of Malabar. Here he met with many Arabs, especially Hazramis, who recommended him to the King ; and this King (who was a Kafir) trusted him and advanced him to the captainship of his bodyguard. He remained ten years in all solace and delight of life ; at the end of which time he was seized with home-sickness ; and the longing to behold his native land was that of a lover pining for his beloved ; and he came near to die of yearning desire. But his appointed day had not dawned ; so, after taking the first bath of health, he left the King without leave, and in due course landed at Makalla of Hazramaut." (Burton, Vol. V, p. 136.)

Commenting on the passage Burton relates the story of a man who, flying from " Hazrami " society, reached the uttermost parts of China where he thought himself safe, but as he was about to pass the night in some ruin he heard a voice hard by him exclaim, " Oh 'Imad ad Din,"[2] the name of the patron saint of Hazramaut. " Thereupon he arose and fled and he is, they say, flying still."

The emigration of Hadhramis to foreign parts is therefore no new phenomenon, but its long continuance and the steady expansion of the Hadhrami communities in other countries, to which probably the brake applied by the recent depression is only temporary, is not without significance in considering the future of the country. Not only is it probably responsible for the more open and receptive atmosphere in the Hadhramaut but it is also probable that it has a considerable bearing on the growing desire in the country for peace and good government.

[483] There is a further point. Although the Hadhramaut could no doubt produce more under proper guidance the resources of the soil can never make it wealthy, and the item of invisible exports to the extent of £630,000 annually represented by remittances of money into the country is not to be neglected.

The first systematic attempt to examine the position of Hadhramaut colonies abroad was made by Professor Van den Berg in his noteworthy study on the Hadhramaut and the Arab colonies

[1] Stigand says (*Land of Zinj*) that the Arabs call Pate, Bata and derive the word from a tribe named Batawe which left Hadhramaut and settled in Pate.

[2] Probably 'Amud ad Din vide Chapter XVII.

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n the Indian Archipelago, published in 1886. In this work, which in Part 1 contains a remarkably full account of the country and the people by one who had never set foot in it but had learnt more about it than anyone who had, the author examined in great detail the Arab colonies in the East Indies. He comments on the fact that when an Arab established in the Indian Archipelago sees that one alone no longer suffices for his business, he engages in preference a young man of his family or of his tribe. This is the reason why in all the Arab colonies the majority of the immigrants are from the same part of the Hadhramaut. Thus he says the greater number of Arabs in the Indian Archipelago originally hail from the main wadi between Shibam and Tarim. The inhabitants of the Wadi Du'an prefer to go to the colonies in Aden, Jedda, Suakin, or Cairo. The people of the coast choose British India, above all the coast of Malabar and Hyderabad. The Beduins, he says, rarely leave their country.

The situation is much the same to-day. As regards the East Indies the majority of the emigrants to Java are from the Āl Kathīr, though the inhabitants of Tarim and Wadi Hajarein (particularly the towns of Badra and Haura), and the tribes of Nahd and Ja'da are also represented. The Singapore community originates principally from the towns of Tarim, Seiyun, and Shibam, and the Nahd tribesmen. Turning to East Africa the majority of the immigrants are from the Tamimi tribe, the Bā Haidera, and the tribes of Hajr. Zanzibar has a close connection with the ancient town of Shihr, and for this reason Hadhramis in the Protectorate are almost universally referred to as Shihiris. The Red Sea contingent is recruited mainly from the Wadi Du'an, and Du'anis are found in Egypt, Jedda, Abyssinia, and the Sudan. There are also a few from the Wadi Hajr in Jedda and from Shibam and the Nahd in Abyssinia and Sudan.

Although the general tendency is for the Hadhramaut colonies abroad to be recruited from particular places in the home country it will be observed that there is some overlapping, and this is due to the great extension of emigration and to the fact that there is nowadays more movement in the interior of the Hadhramaut. The Nahd tribesmen, notably, have many of them become almost townsmen, and living largely in the main wadi are in frequent touch with different parts of it.

There is yet another important contingent of Hadhramis abroad to be mentioned and this consists of those in the service of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. The Qu'aiti authorities informed me that this contingent amounts to 5,000 or 6,000 in number, of whom 2,000 or 3,000 are Yafa'is, mostly with Hadhramaut connections. There are also many Hadhramaut tribes represented such as the Nāwah, the Ja'da, and even the Sei'ar. The command of the Nizam's bodyguard is held by the Sultan of Mukalla as hereditary Jemadar. This does not exhaust the list

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POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE HADHRAMAUT

HAROLD INGRAMS

INTRODUCTION

To the Arab geographers the Hadhramaut is a province of South Arabia, to the west it remained until 1934 an imperfectly explored part of the peninsula with the chiefs of which Great Britain had had treaty relations since the end of the nineteenth century. From 1934 till the present time it has been my good fortune to explore it, to live in it and to be associated with its political development.

Politically it consists of six treaty areas, the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, the Kathiri State of Seiyun, the two Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and Balhaf and the two tiny sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura. Juridically all these treaty chiefdoms are of the same status, but the premier chief is the Qu'aiti Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla who has the title of Highness and a salute of eleven guns, and after him comes the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun with a salute of nine guns. Until the nineteenth century the Kathiris had been for some centuries the ruling dynasty of the greater part of the country depending for their power on foreign mercenaries, most of whom were Yafa'i tribesmen from the mountains of the lower Yemen. In course of time these mercenaries became more powerful than the Kathiris and from them arose two dynasties, first of the Kasadis and then, conquering them and much of the Kathiri country, the Qu'aitis.

The Hadhramaut is essentially a desert region, with a negligible and uncertain rainfall, in which the inhabitants have from a respectable antiquity evolved elaborate systems of irrigation to make the most of their limited water and infertile soil, on which they have probably never been able to support themselves. But as the Hadhramis are commercially an enterprising people they have for as far back as we have any certain knowledge of them, a matter of rather more than 2,000 years, lived on trade. The ancient Hadhramaut lived on the incense trade: when that went by sea they learnt to emigrate and for centuries now the Hadhramis have gone abroad to earn money in the countries bordering the Red Sea, in East Africa, in India and most of all in the East Indies. One in every three or four Hadhramis is always abroad, generally temporarily for it is always their ambition to return home, and the largest colonies and the largest fortunes are found in the Netherlands East Indies, particularly Java. The community in Singapore is small but wealthy.

Until 1937 the principal feature of their life in their own country was chronic internal strife, for despite their ability to amass money abroad from house property, by trade—mainly in piece goods—by money-lending,

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and so on, they were pathetically unable to live in their own country without quarrelling. In 1937 I managed to persuade the warring tribes to try a period of truce and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri Sultans asked for me to be appointed as their adviser. From then on an effort has been made to build up local Governments and an advisory system has been evolved in both those States and in the Wahidi Sultanates.

It is the purpose of this paper to describe the methods used in building up State government and social services in the Hadhramaut and in order to illustrate them I propose to describe their development in the Qu'aiti State. This is by far the biggest area in the country and has the largest revenue. For these reasons more time has been given to it than the other areas and the co-operation of the Sultan and his people has been so complete that considerable progress has been made.

The State covers an area of about 50,000 square miles, divided into five *kaisas* each with a governor. It has a population of about 200,000 and the capital is the sea port of Mukalla (population today about 25,000), the largest port in South Arabia between Aden and Muscat. The old capital was Shihr, another port some forty miles east of Mukalla, and that is why the Sultan includes the name in his title. The present ruler is His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., who succeeded in 1936.

Status of Great Britain in the Hadhramaut

Until 1937 British relations with the Qu'aiti State depended on a treaty of 1888 in which the British Government extended to Mukalla and Shihr and their dependencies the gracious favour and protection of Her Majesty the Queen Empress. In return for this the rulers undertook to refrain from entering into any relations with any foreign Power except with the sanction of the British Government, and to give notice of the attempt by any other Power to interfere with the country. In 1937 I negotiated a treaty with the Sultan by which His Majesty's Government agreed to appoint a resident adviser to the Sultan and the Sultan agreed, for the welfare of his State, to accept this advice in all matters except those concerning Muhammadan religion and custom. This treaty was based on those entered into with rulers of Malay States, and when Sir Bernard Reilly signed the treaty on Friday, August 13, 1937, he addressed to the Sultan a Note referring to the treaties with the Malay rulers. This Note explained first of all that it was by no means the intention of His Majesty's Government to reduce the powers of the Sultan to insignificance, and made it clear that the treaty would be worked in the same way as similar treaties with Malay rulers. It went on to say there had been very few cases of material disagreement between the ruler and the adviser in Malaya and that the advice to be given to His Highness in all matters of internal concern would be based solely on the adviser's view of the interests of the State and of His Highness. It had been the policy of His Majesty's Government, the Note said, to maintain the authority of the ruler in all such matters. It said that in foreign affairs the case was somewhat different because by

faith in which I was brought up, but when, in such a position as I have held, I have to deal with people of another faith, I feel it is essential to help and encourage them to live up to the best in their own faith, for a live religious spirit is a vital necessity to all progress. The Hadhramaut is sadly afflicted, as I have said, by over-emphasis on formalism, but I have found great support in pressing more and more the necessity of working and living in the spirit of religion. This type of teaching is employed in educating troops and boys and girls in the new schools, particularly in the children's village and in the bedouin boys' and girls' schools. My educational assistant has a candidate for training as a teacher of the spirit of religion, leaving the other teachers to teach, for example, the methods of prayer and fasting. In the course of time it has been generally accepted that the position of religion in the affairs of the country is being strengthened and not weakened.

TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS FROM EXPERIENCE IN THE HADHRAMAUT

As I spent the first fifteen years of my service in Zanzibar and Mauritius and have had opportunities of studying the administration of East Africa, Malaya and the West Indies, whether on the spot or in the Colonial Office, it is natural for me to approach consideration of the best way to help backward areas in the Middle East, like the Hadhramaut, to more effective self government, by comparison with the better known colonial methods of approach to the same goal.

It seems to me that if success is ultimately achieved in teaching the people of such areas to govern themselves it will probably not be by the traditional methods of colonial administration. The practical difficulties of doing so seem to be due to the nature of the country, to the nature of the people and to political considerations. The country is mainly desert and our colonial tradition has been built up in lands capable of economic development. Owing to their environment the people, taking them as a whole, are neither simple nor tractable and, by contrast with most peoples of tropical dependencies, they are suspicious of outside interference. As the close control of any part of Arabia is looked on with dislike by other parts of Arabia and as there is, as far as I can see, no over-riding necessity for us to control such an area as the Hadhramaut closely, it does not on political grounds seem worth while to do so. The less we interfere with the internal

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NOTES ON THE KATHIRI STATE OF HADHRAMAUT

R. H. Smith

DURING THE SIX YEARS since the sunset of imperial rule in India, new light has been shed on all but one of the former appendages of that rule in the adjacent Arabian peninsula. Though Kuwait, Bahrein and Oman have long enjoyed a certain "international status" entitling them to a delineation of their boundaries on maps of the Middle East, their most recent and widespread fame derives from their new status as repositories of a multi-billion dollar oil investment. Consequently, vital statistics relating to these three states are a fingertip proposition in many reference rooms in the country.

But the states of the Aden Protectorate — where as yet no petroleum has been discovered — remain the victims of such complete anonymity that most maps are utterly vacant of even the sketchiest political detail concerning them. Moreover, they receive only scant mention in the more specialized political handbooks. Yet in area and population, the Aden Protectorate equals Kuwait, Bahrein and Oman combined, while her cultural and social characteristics, especially in Hadhramaut, indicate a far higher development than can be found in most shaykhdoms of the Persian Gulf.

Most remarkable of the Aden sultanates, because of the paradox of its geographical remoteness, yet high degree of cosmopolitanism, is the Kathiri State, whose capital, Seiyun, is probably the loveliest purely native city in the entire Arab World. Here, too, is paradox, for, though Seiyun lies on the bottom of the parched Wadi Hadhramaut, it is famous for its many palace gardens and for such unheard-of desert luxuries as swimming

◆R. H. Smith was managing editor of *New Citizen*, a weekly newspaper published in India, and now is studying at Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.

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THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE TRIBES OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

By MAJOR THE HON. R. A. B. HAMILTON

Lecture given on September 23, 1942, General Sir John Shea, G.C.B., in the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, Mr. Hamilton is a Political Officer, following in the great tradition. He knows the needs and the minds of his Arabs, and he also will tell us, and indeed emphasize, what a Political Officer should know before he goes among them.

At the same time the Council feels that this tribal question stretches far beyond Southern Arabia into India, Africa and other parts of the British Empire. This, therefore, is the first of several lectures on backward tribes. We hope very much to get as much information as we can on this subject, and we trust that Political Officers who are not able to come to these lectures will give us the benefit of their experience in writing, so that we may put their views in the Journal. Naturally one's inclination is to hedge round these tribes, if it were possible, but there is no question that as time goes on they must be fitted in to the civilized world. The study of their ancient social organizations and of their heritage is absolutely necessary, so that, if it is possible to collect as much information as is available, we may perhaps induce the powers that be to take a line which will protect them from exploitation by civilization, by big business, and possibly by their more advanced neighbours.

THE organization of the social classes in the small area of the Aden Protectorate is complicated. Few people have given much thought to it, and those who have, have usually erred in accepting generalizations.

In the organization one may still trace the ancient divisions of the territory as it was some two thousand or more years ago. It was then divided into four main states, which we can call kingdoms: that of Saba, which is supposed to be the ancient Sheba, in the Yemen; Qataba in south-east Yemen; Ma'an, a confederation ruled by the "Grand Council," between Eastern Yemen and Hadhramaut; and the kingdom of Hadhramaut.

TOWNS AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE HADHRAMAUT

By MRS. M. DE STURLER-RAEMAEKERS

Report of a lecture illustrated by a film delivered to the Society on Thursday, May 21, 1953, Mr. W. H. Ingrams, C.M.G., O.B.E., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: As you can well imagine, it is a great pleasure to me to take the chair this afternoon for Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers, because I have spent ten years in the country which she is about to describe. Unfortunately, ever since I left it in 1944 time has done nothing but take me somewhere else in the world. I have just returned from a tour of the United States, Mexico, Central America and the West Indies. Most of my time seems to be taken up in Africa and it is difficult to get an opportunity of looking again at the Hadhramaut. Hence it is a great pleasure to be able to see Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers' slides and to hear her account this afternoon.

I expect that in some respects at least the architecture of the Hadhramaut is familiar to many of you through Freya Stark's books, perhaps particularly the illustrations in her book *Seen in the Hadhramaut*; also Mr. Osbert Lancaster, an architect who many may know better as a cartoonist, wrote an article on the architecture of the Hadhramaut some years ago which appeared, I believe, in the *Architectural Journal*.

There is a very long tradition of architecture in the Hadhramaut. One wonders how long this wonderful working in mud has gone on. In ancient days the ancient Hadhramautis used to go in for monumental stone masonry on a large scale. I remember seeing huge stones lying on the old Hadhramauti ruins and being told by the local people that the stones had been transported to the early buildings by the Adites, who were formerly giants. Hadhramaut is a country which has always recognized the Book of Genesis, that there were giants in the land in those days.

Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers was born in Holland and came to England as a child, first, during the first World War. Here she was educated, so we can at least claim part of her. Then she went to France and later came back to England to study architecture for three years at the Architectural Association. She took her degree in Brussels and practised there. Then she travelled a good deal in Europe. She returned to England again at the outbreak of the recent World War and has been here ever since except for her travelling. In 1948 Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers thought she would go further afield and, fortunately for us and for Arabia, she chose to go there, but before doing so she took the precaution of studying Arabic for two years at London University.

Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers spent ten months in the Hadhramaut in 1950-51 and was there again in 1952 for five months. She has told me, very modestly, that that is a very inadequate time in which to study the Hadhramaut, but I think we shall discover that she found out a great deal of much interest while she was there.

MY experience of the Middle East is, as you have heard, somewhat brief, being only three years. I therefore feel a little embarrassed when speaking before a gathering in which there may be many who have probably travelled there for much longer periods. I trust they will show some indulgence towards anything I may say which may not be either new or just as they saw it; I have at least specialized knowledge in one subject which took me there, and that is architecture. I went to study the buildings of Hadhramaut and make measured drawings of them. I do not intend to give a technical discourse on exactly how the buildings are constructed or how the bricks are made, because I do not think that this is

Soon milks out of Aden a sultan recently killed two of his cousins because of some rivalry between them, and not more than fifteen years ago there were cases of open piracy at Balhaf. Such incidents will illustrate that it is not easy country to travel through or to subjugate, isolated as it is behind roadless mountains and plateaux. There are some 500 miles of this barren, rough country, where the people are fiercely independent and distrustful of outsiders. It was long impossible to travel right across it, and it has been done by only very few people, chiefly by the Dutch explorer Van der Meulen, who has crossed it three times.

Considering the geography it is not surprising that modern civilization, and particularly European civilization, has never penetrated the interior of this peninsula. In such outcrops of continents as this all civilization seems to come and go very slowly, and so does life itself. The Indo-European civilization, which started in the Fertile Crescent before the time of Ur of the Chaldeans, has only very slowly percolated down to this outcrop of Asia, as it did in the peninsulas of India and Malaya; once there, it remained static and almost intact for 4,000 years. When one goes to Hadhramaut now one can almost imagine living in the time of Abraham of Ur and the Chaldeans.

The Hadhramis themselves trace back their ancestry and history to Noah, from whom they descend through Sem and his grandson Ad, who is their legendary father of the giant race, and from whom in turn descends *Hathermaweth*, whose name means "Death is Present" and became "Hadhramaut." This shows that in those far-off days the Arabs of Southern Arabia were hardly less bellicose than they were until the British came to Hadhramaut in 1934, when Mr. Ingrams started negotiating cessation of wars and blood feuds.

Hadhramaut, we know then, lies 400 miles from Aden eastwards along a roadless coast, across merciless basalt mountains, quicksand, dunes and deserted beaches—400 miles of sand and rock and ragged cliffs, with only five unknown bedouin fishing hamlets en route. Going along this coast—be it by plane, dhow or, at last, since 1951 by pioneer desert trucks—one can hardly believe that any form of life is possible inside or behind these torrid treeless wastes. For behind these coastal ranges, to the north, we know it is the great desert that covers all Southern Arabia, the Empty Quarter, which has but four or five oases along the 600- or 700-mile camel route that crosses it. Neither from north nor south is there seemingly any life vein, nor from east nor west. Yet it is here that we shall find the valley of Hadhramaut.

Like the hidden valley of Petra, Hadhramaut has remained secluded throughout the centuries, but with this difference: the valley of Hadhramaut is not dead.

When one has braved the 400 miles of desolation eastward from Aden, one suddenly comes upon a great scintillating white harbour; a crescent moon wedged between an azure bay and blistering pink rocks. This is Mukalla, the beautiful white-and-blue port, the cup of its harbour filled with many little native craft and sailing dhows. Behind the town there seems nothing but endless waste tableland with one or two poor bedouin hamlets—the Jol, rising to 6,000 feet and stretching 150 miles inland. But

LAND AND PEOPLES OF THE HADHRAMAUT, ADEN PROTECTORATE

Ruthven W. Pike

ALTHOUGH Southern Arabia borders on the much-traveled route to India and ocean liners daily touch its shore at the port of Aden, it has been little reconnoitered, far less than the northern part of the peninsula. A chronological account of exploration in the part of Southern Arabia known as the Hadhramaut, by Mr. W. H. Ingrams (now Chief Secretary in Aden), appeared in the *Geographical Review* for October, 1938. It is entirely due to the tactful and untiring efforts of Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams, who, with the coöperation of Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf, member of the wealthiest family in the Hadhramaut, have succeeded in establishing peace and understanding among the many tribes of the region, that it is now possible for a European to journey unmolested within prescribed regions.

The boundaries of the Aden Protectorate, of which the Hadhramaut is a part, extend into heretofore unexplored territory and have not been surveyed in the manner customary in settled areas. The limits are well understood, however. They are formed by the Gulf of Aden on the south, the district of Dhufar on the east, the southern margin of the great interior sandy desert of Rub' al Khali on the north, and a line running N 45° E from Perim Island to the Rub' al Khali on the west.

The population is densest near Aden and its mountainous hinterland. There are, however, a great many people to the east of Aden, who live along the coast and in the interior of the Hadhramaut; Mr. Ingrams estimates their number at 260,000. There are also many towns and villages between the mouth of the Wadi Maseila and the Dhufar Coast, with a population thought to be about 25,000. Mukalla, with 16,000 inhabitants, is the chief port of the Hadhramaut and seat of the British Colonial Administration for the surrounding area.

Climate

The climate at sea level between October and April is healthful and agreeable to one accustomed to living in temperate regions. On the interior plateau, or Jol, at altitudes of 3000 to 4000 feet, and in the Wadi Hadhramaut, at 2000 feet, the nights are cool, with minimum temperatures reaching 50° F., and are apt to be windy. At such times ordinary summer clothing and light bedding do not afford enough protection.

From April on, the average and maximum daily temperatures

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SOUTH-WEST ARABIA: TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

By HAROLD INGRAMS, C.M.G., O.B.E.

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Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on January 24, 1945, Lieut.-General H. G. Martin, C.B., D.S.O., O.B.E., in the Chair.

Introducing the lecturer the Chairman said that Mr. Ingrams had been intimately connected with affairs in South-West Arabia since he first went to Aden as a political officer in 1934. Later as British Resident Adviser at Mukalla, Mr. Ingrams, accompanied by his wife, carried out a series of journeys, which were not only of scientific value but which paved the way for a remarkably successful pacification of the tribes in the Hadhramaut, who were induced by peaceful persuasion to lay aside their hereditary blood feuds. It was in recognition of the part that Mrs. Ingrams played in helping to make this possible that the Lawrence Memorial Medal was awarded conjointly to Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams in 1939; an example that was followed by the Royal Geographical Society in the award of their Founder's Medal in 1940. Mr. Ingrams returned to this country from the Western Aden Protectorate at the end of 1944.

The lecturer opened with an account of a recent journey in the Yemen, and it is hoped that this will appear as a separate article in the next issue of the Journal.

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OF late months there has been greater activity in the question of Arab unity. The conference at Alexandria was stimulated by the promise of His Majesty's Government to give full support to any scheme that will command general approval for strengthening the cultural, economic and political ties between the Arab countries. The conference was attended by representatives of Egypt, 'Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, Saudi Arabia and the Yemen, and there was an observer from Palestine. Talk in relation to Arab unity is generally concentrated on the more advanced areas in the north, but sooner or later the matter must affect the whole of the peninsula, and the people of Southern Arabia must be drawn into closer touch with their brethren in the north.

I thought, therefore, that it might be of interest if I tried to give you a short description of conditions in South-West Arabia as they have been during the last few years. One way or another during the last six years of absence from England I have had to do with all parts of this area, and though I do not claim to know them all equally well, I thought perhaps I knew enough from seeing them personally and dealing with their affairs to justify my giving you my own impressions of them as a slight contribution to the material for the study of the question of Arab unity in relation to all Arab countries, including the less well known. But I make no claim whatever to give a final or authoritative picture, so you must not regard what I say about them as more than a personal view.

I have called this lecture "South-West Arabia: To-day and To-morrow," but as regards to-morrow I merely want to indicate a possibility or two, more with the object of asking the question, What can we do to help this more backward part of the Arab world to fit itself to take a real part in the League of Arab States which may eventually be established?

121 South-West Arabia is to-day divisible into four distinct parts, and I propose to take each of these in turn, giving a sketch of how I see its

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Middle East MI

chance of coming into being. But without discussing that, they have much of common interest to consider. In itself the visit of a King of Egypt to a King of Arabia is a matter of the utmost importance and significance. For unless the Arab states can come to an understanding on such matters as are implicit in the project of an Arab Federation, there is no doubt that sooner or later they will come under foreign domination.

If Arabia, with its position in the centre of the world, is to keep quiet and become prosperous, its present problems must be solved. I believe the best form that our sympathy with Syria and the Lebanon could take would be if we could agree with the French that neither we nor they would control any Arab area. The secret agreement between ourselves and the French in 1916, against which the Arab world has always protested, is the foundation of the presence of the French in Syria and Lebanon. Unless we are ourselves prepared to give up control of Arab territories we have no right to criticize the French.

When we have done that, I hope that, in a spirit of friendship, we may be able to send them people like Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams, not as officials but as friends, to whom I am sure the Hadhramaut will always be grateful as to individuals who have taken the trouble to know the Arabs, to love them and to work for them.

Dr. HUZZAYYIN: I would like to congratulate the Royal Central Asian Society on this lecture, and Mr. Ingrams on the way in which he managed to cover so wide a field so successfully.

There are one or two points that I should like to raise. One is the importance of this part of Arabia. It has been overshadowed in the last few years when the Arab world has been thrust into intimate contact with the West, and the name Arab has carried with it to European minds the general idea of a nomad, or a merchant with his caravan of camels. This idea has been taken from the character of life in the northern and central parts of Arabia, and similarly Arab expansion has been thought of as a movement by land.

But Southern Arabia also played a great part in the diffusion of Arabic culture, and Arab expansion southwards spread as much by sea as it did in the north by land. Hadhramaut has from ancient times had contacts with the Far East of Asia. The Omeiras had close contacts with East Africa, and, as you could see from the pictures the lecturer has shown us, the Far East in return influenced the architecture of South Arabia.

The culture of Southern Arabia was more advanced than that of any other part of the peninsula in ancient times. This heritage is still latent in those countries, and it is worth while to help them revive it and take their part in the affairs of Asia.

A second point which Mr. Ingrams neglected to stress is the part he has himself played in the development of this area. I met him first in 1936, when he was just starting work in the Hadhramaut. He was not content to lead a leisured life in the comfort of Mukalla; he chose instead to go to the people of the hinterland, and through his work he has come to command the respect of all classes of the community. I have met many Hadhramis and they used to speak freely to me as an Egyptian, and I have been struck by their appreciation of his work, in pacification, in develop-

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Yemen MM1

ing friendly relations between the tribes, in work for education and for health.

I am afraid that what Mr. Ingrams says of Aden is true. It is a region of what we may call cultural contact, where Western and Arab ideas meet. Owing to the development of roads there is now a competition between the ports of Aden and Hodeida. Where commerce is developing there must be such cultural contacts, and unless this contact is controlled the result will be cultural confusion. I feel that the British Council might do valuable work, therefore, in trying to create at Aden a centre where Arabs may learn the best of Western culture, and may guide the developments that must arise in that region.

Colonel ELPHINSTON: We have been told that the Middle East is likely to be a testing ground of world controls. For reasons indicated by Mr. Philby, it may prove a more difficult testing ground than has sometimes been thought. But in that connection I would like to ask Mr. Ingrams one or two questions.

I understand that subsidies are not paid to the Sheikhs of the Aden Protectorate and the Trucial Coast, but that a subsidy is paid to King Ibn Sa'ud, and, further, that the Emperor of Abyssinia was recently offered a subsidy and refused it. Can Mr. Ingrams tell us if he thinks these subsidies a good thing, and whether he can suggest some way of controlling the expenditure of these monies so as to ensure their being used for the purpose for which they are given by the British taxpayers?

Secondly, the Jewish Agency in Palestine recently allotted some of the small annual quota of immigration permits to Oriental Jews, including some from the Yemen. Are the conditions under which Jews live in the Yemen such as to justify using up permits which may be desperately needed for European Jewish refugees?

Mr. INGRAMS: It is now agreed that it is better not to hand out large sums of money to rulers or individuals, which might be misused. But it is a good thing to provide money to start new and useful projects. I think that it is better to allow local freedom in the handling of these subsidies in such naturally independent countries, rather than to exercise a close control such as is applied in the ordinary type of dependency. In Hadhramaut it is not difficult to be certain that the money is well expended, because the Government is organized and has its own auditor, and there is a proper system of keeping public accounts.

No doubt there are sometimes instances of dishonesty, as such happen everywhere, but I do not think the Hadhramaut is at all bad in this respect. I once had an instance of the care that is taken, when a man from the Hedjaz came in to see me in my office, and when I waited to learn what he wanted, he said, "I have called because I thought I would like to tell you that this is the first port I have called at where I have not had to give a single bribe. Customs, passport officials, police, and everyone else, they have all done their duty without wanting rewards." And I think I can assure you that in the greater matter of the subsidies the money is properly spent and is not frittered away.

With regard to the status of the Jews. In Sana'a the outside exteriors of the Jewish houses do not look very promising, but when you get inside

12: Skene G,3-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

which there emanates acrid smoke with an appalling smell. This is supposed to relieve the patient.

Natives do not know the origin of the *pepo punda*, and are extremely afraid of it. Happily it is not very frequent in Malindi.

NOTE.—The description of the above dances has been compiled by a civil officer of experience who has a thorough knowledge of Swahili. Many of the dances have undoubtedly been brought from Arabia by the Muscat Arabs, others were probably brought in by the Nabahans and the Vumba chiefs who came from Shiraz in Persia about A.D. 1100. The hypnotic seizures described in some of the ceremonies are well known in Africa, particularly among the Akamba people; the phenomena would well repay investigation by a medical psychologist.—C. W. HOBLEY. Membasa.

NOTES BY A. WERNER.

p. 418, l. 23.—This, or some similar event, followed by faction-fighting, has been celebrated by Muhamadi bin Abubakari Kijuma, of Lamu, in a poem called *Utendi wa Mkwambi*.

p. 419.—The Kinyago. This (called wapago by the Yao and chiyao by the Anyanja) takes place at the initiation of young people in Nyasaland. For particulars, see Rattray, *Some Folklore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, pp. 178, 179.

p. 420.—A list of pepo, with the appropriate exorcisms, songs, etc., as used in the Mrima region (the mainland opposite Zanzibar) is given in Velten's *Desturi za Wasuahili*, pp. 149–167. The *Arab zar*, described for Mecca by Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (The Hague, 1889), vol. ii. pp. 124–129), belongs to the same category.

p. 426.—The Wasanye in the Malindi district all speak Galla, but they say their old language is still spoken by the Wabesi in the Witu territory.

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

afford to do so. It is difficult to understand what it is that binds them so firmly to their poor, monotonous and scorching rocks and deserts. Their fanatical Mohammedanism is certainly an important factor, but so is also their love for their ill-favored country, and the intuitive perception that the preservation of their group and of its characteristic attributes is closely connected with the hard, frugal and primitive ways of living in their native land.

In those regions to which the people of Hadramaut emigrate they usually have a much larger part in the economic life of the people than their numbers would justify. This is particularly the case in the Dutch East Indies, where they have an increasingly important place as business men and as owners of land and houses, as well as being students of religion and promoters of orthodox Islam.

It was very natural that about the year 1880 the government of the Netherlands Indies recommended the agent for Arabian and Mohammedan affairs to make a special study of Hadramaut and of the people who had come from that part of Arabia to the East Indies. The book written by this officer, Dr. L. W. C. van den Berg, "Le Hadhramaut et les Colonies Arabes dans l'Archipel Indien," was published in 1886 at government expense. This year the Department for Foreign Affairs urged its representative at Jeddah to attempt a journey in Hadramaut for a diplomatic and economic survey. This preliminary report is the result of that request.

Dr. van den Berg wrote his book in Batavia, and never went to Hadramaut, but he got his information with the help of intelligent men from Hadramaut with whom he had intimate connections. He even made a sketch-map of the country, which was printed with his book, and for this the information these men supplied was of course indispensable. This sketch-map of course had many defects, but Hadramaut has been visited so little by scientific explorers that even this year van den

114 Berg's book written in 1886 was recommended to me by the governor of Aden as the best source of information they had at the government office at Aden. I also found that at that time the Royal Air Force was making use of Van den Berg's sketch-map in the scouting flights which they made over Hadramaut, and had corrected but few serious faults in it.

114 488 The attention of travelers in Arabia has been directed chiefly to the Hejaz and to what is known as Arabia Felix (Yemen), the center of civilization in former times. For this reason Hadramaut has been somewhat neglected, and also because it was so difficult to get into the interior. This was a closed land, not only for Christians but for strangers in general. The first explorer of Hadramaut was Adolph von Wrede, who made his memorable journey in 1843, disguised as an Egyptian Moslem. He was able to penetrate only as far as the entrance to Hadramaut itself, but he brought back with him very valuable material in regard to the region between the shore of the Indian Ocean and the actual valley of Hadramaut. However, in his native land (Germany) he was considered as an impostor, and it was not until 1873 that his "Reise in Hadhramaut" was published by von Maltzan.

It was not until January, 1893, that a second traveler attempted to follow the illustrious example of von Wrede. After months of futile efforts and journeys along the coast, it was Leo Hirsch's good fortune to get into the country and to penetrate to the interior. He reached the town of Terîm, but had to leave that place immediately, owing to the threats of the Sayyids and the populace. In 1897 he published his very accurate reports on his journey.

Shortly after Hirsch, in December, 1893, an English married couple, Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Bent, tried to visit the Hadramaut valley. They did not get as far as Hirsch, and had to turn back from Shibâm. The Hadramaut sanctuary of the tomb of the prophet Hûd, and the mysterious well, Bîr Barhût, would continue for

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadramaut MM2

some decades longer to be exempt from the visit of a Christian.

This ends the list of the explorers of Hadramaut. The Royal Air Force did indeed make several scouting flights from Aden over Hadramaut, but they never made a landing, and sometimes had to fly very high. To these flights, however, we are indebted for a very important series of photographs, which provide valuable geographical material (see *The Geographical Journal*, vol. lxxvii, No. 3, March, 1931).

When I was given the task of visiting this country, which is so little known, and so important to us (Hollanders) in view of the tens of thousands of people from Hadramaut who live in the Netherlands Indies, I took steps to make more of the journey than could be accomplished by one government official who is not in any way an expert. I sent an invitation to Dr. H. von Wissmann of the Geographical Institute connected with the University of Vienna, asking him to venture with me upon the hazardous journey to Hadramaut. I had become acquainted with von Wissmann through his exploration work in the Hejaz and Yemen. He was to make the survey of the journey, and to carry out all instrumental and scientific observations, and we would work together on the collections of plants and insects and in taking photographs. Moreover I was able to offer him the assistance of an official introduction from the Dutch government, my knowledge of the Arabic and Malay languages, and that special help which a former government official from the Dutch Indies might hope for in the country of the Hadramaut people.

When I met von Wissmann at Aden in April of this year (1931), I had just completed a trip along the shores of the Red Sea. Both of us had received very unfavorable information in regard to present conditions in Hadramaut. Practically no one gave us any hope of success. However, the English authorities at Aden

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

thought that we had some slight chance of succeeding, and they gave us loyal cooperation.

Thus we landed at Makalla on Sunday, May 3, accompanied only by my Yemenite servant. The Sultan was away as usual, and his vizier read the letters of introduction from our minister of foreign affairs and from the Governor of Aden. We were very well accommodated in one of the Sultan's former palaces, and then began the task of waiting for the great decision as to whether we might enter the country. The same evening we had the good fortune to meet a member of the family al-'Attās, which is very friendly with the government of the Dutch Indies. He had received a telegram from his father instructing him to give all possible help to the Dutch representative of the government in his anticipated journey in Hadramaut. The Sayyid family of al-'Attās, together with the closely allied family of al-Kāf, belongs to the leading group in Hadramaut proper. Two great parties, which are hostile to one another, are contesting for the power in this country, namely, the āl-Qa'ētī, who have their headquarters at Makalla, and the āl-Kathīr, with headquarters at Sēwun. The āl-Qa'ētī sultans take their cue from the English, and, thanks to English help, have authority in the coast region. The āl-Kathīr are more independent, and reside in Hadramaut proper, that is, in the broad valley in the interior which has that name. The Sayyids boast of being directly descended from the son-in-law of the Prophet, and in Hadramaut society hold a distinct and very privileged position. They have great influence with the government, but leave the actual business for the most part to the non-sayyids. The immediate and whole-hearted support of the al-'Attās certainly did our enterprise a great deal of good, for on the following day we received the promise that we might go inland. However, the great difficulties of the journey, especially at this time of the year (one of the hottest months), were expressly pointed out to us; and we were urgently dissuaded from crossing the

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

CLIMATE, IRRIGATION, AND EARLY MAN IN THE HADHRAMAUT

G. CATON-THOMPSON AND E. W. GARDNER

Afternoon Meeting of the Society, 7 November 1938

009 IN a land as little known as South-west Arabia there is danger to the scientific traveller of getting lost. Not lost in the geographical sense, though at times that might be easy in the unending monotony of its valley floors and desert plateaux, but lost in the intricacies of a myriad detailed observations concerning them and the parts they played thousands of years ago in the lives of their inhabitants. The traveller crawls about like an ant amongst the dust heaps, collecting facts; facts related and unrelated, important and unimportant, which eventually, perhaps years hence and in other hands, go to the making of an ever-incomplete picture. He may be envious of the all-embracing synthetic view, such as the airman may obtain; but he remains aware that his microscopic, analytic rummaging amongst the individual stones is the indispensable element in eventual comprehension of the whole. Such reflections are not an inappropriate preface to this paper, which is the record of hitherto unrecorded facts. That the unimportant may not have been winnowed yet from the important is recognized: it is too soon to be sure which is which, or what may be the wider relevance of any of them.

114 122 The archaeological and geological work in the Hadhramaut now to be outlined, pending a detailed publication of the whole, took place during the winter of 1937–38, between November and early March. It was made possible as much by a generous grant from Lord Wakefield, with the support of this Society, as by the facilities of entry into the country given by the Aden and Mukalla administration, and not least by the Arab potentates in Qu'aiti and Kathiri territory, whose proverbial hospitality we were privileged to experience. The party consisted of Freya Stark, already a well-known and observant traveller in the country; Elinor Gardner,[1] who has contributed the major part of this paper; and myself.

1114 121 Scientifically the land, though beginning to be well known in its main topographical features, has escaped intensive study to a degree now rare, and therefore it offered a number of attractive pioneer problems to geologist and archaeologist alike. On the archaeological side the ground, in common with all Arabia Felix, was virtually *terra incognita*. Not a single date before the Christian era was fixed; almost anything might turn up. A prearranged plan of research in view of the uncertainties of the field was impossible. Nevertheless objectives have to be clarified, and mine were broadly threefold. First, to bridge the gap in palaeolithic distribution maps between East Africa and Asia. Secondly to test it as an area of possible contact with the Makran coast, Mesopotamia, and India in the third and fourth millennia. Thirdly to investigate the material culture of its pre-Islamic inhabitants, and by its

[1] My contribution is confined to the archaeological sections and to the form and general supervision of this paper in Miss Gardner's absence.

P. 18

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

help to introduce for the first time dating, absolute or relative, into the early history, independently of, or in conjunction with, inscriptions. Interwoven with these purely archaeological questions was Miss Gardner's geological investigation of the Quaternary physiography of the region; more especially inquiry into problems of past climates; and comparisons of Pleistocene conditions in South-west Arabia in lat. 15° N. with those of a typical desert area as studied by her in Kharga Oasis and elsewhere in the Libyan desert 10° farther north.[1] A recent Egyptian expedition under Dr. S. A. Huzayyin had done valuable work on these lines in 1936 in the Yemen, where a series of prehistoric pluvial periods had been traced, besides the possibility of a minor

one in historic times. That expedition paid also a flying visit to the Hadhramaut, but little work was done there.[2]

The general physical features of the country are well known from the excellent map published by von Wissmann in 1932,[3] and from the air reconnaissance of Squadron-Leader Cochrane [4] and the late Flight-Lieut. A. R. M. Rickards, whose map shows well the peculiar drainage system (Plate 1). Very recently a methodical aerial survey of the whole Protectorate has been accomplished, and we are privileged here to publish some of the photographs. Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams still remain the only Europeans who have travelled from

[1] *Geol. Mag.*, vol. lxix, September 1932, "Some problems of the Pleistocene hydrography of Kharga Oasis."

[2] S. A. Huzayyin, "Egyptian University Scientific Expedition to south-west Arabia," *Nature* 140 (1937) 513–4.

[3] Folder to 'Hadhramaut: some of its mysteries unveiled,' by D. Van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann. Leiden, 1932.

[4] "An air reconnaissance of the Hadhramaut" (*Geogr. J.* 77 (1931) 209–16).

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

end to end of the Wadi Hadhramaut, and accounts of their journeys have been given to the Society.[1]

The geological work

The geology of the coastal region around Mukalla has been described by Mr. O. H. Little, of the Egyptian Geological Survey, and those interested in the solid geology are referred to his paper.[2] This region is the most diversified both structurally and petrologically. The fundamental granite appears here overlaid by limestones of Cretaceous and Tertiary age, and faults and folds are conspicuous even from the air. The few days at Mukalla were spent in a rapid examination of the more recent geological features.

To the visitor by sea the most striking is the glistening bank of white dune-sand west of the town, probably masking a raised beach. The coast eastwards to Shihr is fringed with the remnants of a low-lying raised beach now being eroded. In the wadi immediately west of Mukalla a raised beach was noted at RL 15 m. about 1·5 km. from the shore. It consisted of semi-angular and partly rounded pebbles of granite and limestone with marine fossils. Four metres higher a second level of cellular sandstone may be either beach or river terrace.[3]

After the Shihr road has passed through the coastal barrier backing Mukalla, it runs for 2 km. over an extensive gravel plain which slopes smoothly and evenly from RL 66 to RL 38 m. It then climbs a prominent ridge at RL 52·5 m., with a typical gravel profile, and descends again to a similar gravel plain. This plain is the most important erosional feature of the district: its age could not be determined exactly, but that it is Pleistocene seems fairly certain from the occurrence of palaeolithic flake implements of chert[4] on a narrow gravel ridge which rises from it near the fork of the Du'an road. This ridge lies 4 m. above the plain, and seems to be the last remnant of a more extensive level that has been destroyed by the lateral erosion of the two neighbouring wadis. These wadis bound the main plain north and south, and good gravel sections were examined in their banks, without however the discovery of flint implements *in situ* in them.

A line of levels was run from the Shihr road S.S.E. across the gravel plain towards the sea. The sketch-map and section, Fig. 1, show the principal results. The big erosional plain falls in this direction from RL 38 to RL 27 m. in 1100 m. It is then cut by the westerly wadi whose floor lies at RL 13 m. On the far side two terraces, one at RL 16 m. and a more extensive one at RL 20 m., are crossed before the gravel plain is regained at RL 22. From there it stretches for 500 m. or so seaward, and ends in a scarp feature at RL 19. It overlooks a marine terrace crowded with recent shells. Upstream these become scarcer and eventually die out, and the levels show that it is

[1] "A journey to the Sei'ar country and through the Wadi Masila" (*Geogr. J.* 88 (1936) 524–51); "The Hadhramaut: present and future" (*Geogr. J.* 92 (1938) 289–312). See also *Journal R. Central Asian Society*, July 1936.

[2] O. H. Little, "The geography and geology of Makalla" (Geological Survey of Egypt, Cairo, 1925).

[3] Near Jibuti, which we visited on the way home via Hodeidah, Jeddah, and Yenbo, raised coral beaches have been recorded at RL 18 and 25 m.

[4] These resemble typologically the flakes called Levalloisian in N.W. Europe.

Pr. Sergeant U-4 (no date) 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

ORIENTALIA

BUILDING AND BUILDERS IN ḤADRAMAWT

(SACRIFICIAL RITES AND TRADE GUILDS) *

114 This article does not attempt to be comprehensive in scope, for the art of building in South Arabia has been developed to a high level, and merits a lengthy study. Of recent years Ḥaḍrami architecture has been made known to Europe by the photographic studies of various travellers, but detailed architectural studies remain to be achieved. Carlo von Landberg has described the method of constructing a house in his usual admirable fashion, basing it on oral report in colloquial Arabic, but he has not concerned himself with the actual builders themselves, their social organisation, and the ritual which forms part and parcel of the process of building. These are the aspects of the craft with which I am concerned here, and I have included a number of architectural terms, culled from my field-books. Most of those words were noted in Tarim where the architectural manner has been much influenced by Indonesian styles, but it is in the Wādī Daw'an and Šibām where one will find more truly native elements in the architecture. The adobe construction of the Wādīs again differs from the stone construction of the Djōls, and both contrast to some extent with buildings in the West Aden Protectorate.

* *Bibliography.* — Ingrams, W. H., *Housebuilding in the Hadhramaut*, *Geog. Journal* (London, April, 1935), lxxxv/4, p. 370-2, illus.; Lancaster, Chesney, *The culture of the Hadramaut and the spread of European barberism*, *Architectural Review* (London, Sept., 1936), lxxx, no. 478, p. 96-100 (an architect's appreciation of Ḥaḍrami architecture as shown in Freya Stark's photographs); von Landberg, C., *Études sur les Dialectes de l'Arabie Méridionale*, I, *Ḥaḍramoût* (Leiden, 1901), p. 394-408); Pillet, Maurice, *Les Grotte-ciel Orientaux*, *Urbanisme* (Paris, Nov.-Déc., 1937), VI, nº 59, p. 333-47; Van der Berg, L. W. C., *Le Ḥaḍhramout et les Colonies Arabes dans l'Archipel Indien* (Batavia, 1886) (drawings of Ḥaḍrami forts); Van der Meulen, D., *Wonen en bouwen in Zuid-Arabië*, *Natuur en Techniek* (July, 1949).

22 Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932. 1942 Hadramaut MN2

ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS IN SOUTH ARABIA.

By Bertram Thomas, O.B.E.

[With Plates XI and XII.]

Introduction.

114 I have already been privileged to contribute a paper to the *Journal*[1] "Among some unknown Tribes of South Arabia" was published after my first journey in those parts in January–February, 1928. Since then I have made two more visits to the Central South and have continued my investigations. On the last occasion I took head callipers, a small cinema camera and a still camera with me. I made some forty-five head measurements and took full-face and profile portraits of the various types I measured.

Curious Tribes.

144 174 In my previous paper I said that there was a *line* of tribes in the Central South that I believed to be non-Arab remainders, tribes at least who were physically, culturally, linguistically distinguishable from the familiar tall and hawk-faced Arab of the North. I am confirmed in that view. After an experience of fifteen years' service in Arabia, living on close terms of intimacy with its people in Mesopotamia, Trans-Jordan and the Persian Gulf, I am struck by the peculiarities of the inhabitants of the Central South. The Sultan of Muscat shared that opinion. I was not consciously aware at the time of the speculations of Richard Burton which also support it. That Arabian traveller had written in the middle of the last century (vide "Pilgrimage to Al Medina and Mecca")—

> "I was desirous to try by actual observation the truth of a theory proposed by Colonel Sykes, namely, that if tradition be true in the population of the vast peninsula there must exist certain physiological differences sufficient to warrant our questioning the common origin of the Arab family." . . . And later . . . "I have found proof . . . for believing in three distinct races, (1) the aborigines, driven into the Eastern and South-Eastern wilds, (2) a Syrian or Mesopotamian Stock that drove the indigenes from the choicest tracts of country . . . (3) an impure Syro-Egyptian clan . . ."

133 Before passing to a consideration of these strange tribes I lived amongst, it is necessary to say something about the land in which they live. The south coast of Arabia west of long. 50° (Ras Nus) is very mountainous and very wild. It is a natural asylum for early races driven before invaders. At Dhufar in the Central South, these mountains form a crescent-shaped arm which encloses a prosperous and fertile plain. To the westward the mountains form an

[1] Vol. lx., 1928, January to June, p. 97.

THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

By LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR BERNARD REILLY, K.C.M.G., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on February 12, 1941, Sir Cosmo Parkinson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., O.B.E., in the chair.

CHAIRMAN: We now come to the business of to-day, which is Sir Bernard Reilly's talk on the Aden Protectorate.

I could not help thinking, to go back to Lord Lloyd for a moment, how immensely interested he would have been in this talk, with his abiding memories of the Middle East, his intimate understanding of the Arab people, and his sincere respect for the faith and the tradition of Islam.

Sir Bernard Reilly needs no introduction. Any of you who have been to Aden, if only for a day, must know of him, because the two words "Aden" and "Reilly" are virtually synonymous. We have heard of "Reilly of Aden." I have sometimes wondered whether it should not be "Aden of Reilly." He has given a lifetime of service there, and, when the Aden Settlement was turned into a colony he became most appropriately the first Governor and Commander-in-Chief. If ever an administrator overseas deserved the title, "father and mother of the people," it was Sir Bernard Reilly in Aden.

There is just one thing I must tell you. When he was going away from Aden last year he did not know that he was retiring. When he reached this country he realized that private circumstances were such that he absolutely must retire, deeply as he regretted not going back to Aden. Before he left, his Arab servant, who had been with him many years, said: "Master, when the time comes for you finally to leave Aden, you must not tell us. You must go away, just as if you were taking one of your holidays to England, because the partings would be too sorrowful." That is a great tribute; and, in point of fact, on this occasion the master did act on the advice of the servant.

THE Aden Protectorate is an extensive tract of country in Southern Arabia. Its coast stretches from a point opposite to the island of Perim for about 600 miles to Ras Durbat Ali on the borders of Oman, and it reaches inland to a depth varying from about 100 miles in the vicinity of Aden to a greater but undefined distance farther east. Arabia is often thought of as a land of deserts, but this part of it, like many other parts, is a country of mountains. The sandy plain that the passing traveller sees stretching inland from Aden is only a maritime belt. Beyond it the hills rise abruptly in peaks and ranges that reach to heights of 8,000 feet and more. These mountains are, for the most part, rugged and forbidding, but they are interspersed by valleys and ravines that contain fertile and cultivated strips of land. Where the slopes permit, the sides of the hills are

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FOREWORD.

114 In 1904, David George Hogarth wrote that commendable story of Arabian exploration, which, entitled "*The Penetration of Arabia*", comprises a faithful record of the development of western knowledge concerning the Arabian peninsula. In his prefatory note, he said truly that "Arabia is still in great part withdrawn from western eyes", but at the same time he expressed the hope that "Europeans will doubtless complete the penetration of Arabia" as soon as circumstances should become more favourable than they were at the time of the publication of his work. Indeed, were Hogarth still alive at the present day and were he to prepare a revised edition of his book, he could begin by saying that the period of 28 years, that has just elapsed, excels by far any previous period of equal length, in what it has contributed towards laying bare to western science the mysteries of that immense peninsula, "which, if restricted to its smallest dimensions by the thirtieth parallel of latitude, contains nearly a million and a quarter square miles". He would not have omitted to point out that just in these very last years even that centuries-old enigma, that on the maps of Arabia is shown, by the large, white patch in the southern part, *er-Rubʿ el-Khālī* (the Empty or Uninhabited Quarter) was actually being unveiled through the energy of two British explorers, Bertram Thomas and Philby. Yet in spite of all this encouraging decrease in ignorance, were the writer to revise his chapter "Unknown Arabia" and to record the new knowledge gained, in making up the sum total, the complaint would remain justified "but we know much of it hardly better than the Antarctic continent".

000 Ignorance of the greater part of this land is, to a certain extent, accounted for by the poverty and the inhospitable-

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the South coast and separated from it by a mountain range, the country of Ḥaḍramaut. The name occurs already in the Book of Genesis; in ancient times Ḥaḍramaut was famous for its exports of incense and myrrh; ruins and inscriptions from pre-Muhammadan days bear witness to a past greatness and prosperity.

This prosperity of bygone days has, through all manner of unfavourable circumstances, given way, centuries ago, to a pitiable decline. It is true that Islam found an early entrance here and that Muhammadan science has, amongst a certain class of the population, zealous devotees, but the political discipline of this religion has not succeeded in creating Ḥaḍramaut into a realm of peace. The endless tribal wars, which divide the people, make the land practically inaccessible to foreign visitors, even if they are Muhammadans, and at the same time prevent the inhabitants themselves from extracting from their native soil what it could yield to a peacefully labouring population. Because the Ḥaḍramīs are not lacking in ability, which often attains rich maturity under more orderly conditions, many of them have for centuries swarmed to the Yemen, Egypt, Syria and, during the last three centuries especially, also to India and Netherlands India. Of all parts of the Arabian peninsula, Ḥaḍramaut is pre-eminently the land of emigration.

In Netherlands India they have even, in earlier times, succeeded in founding sultanates (e. g. Siak, Pontianak), but now they content themselves with trade and money transactions. Some of them, having become wealthy, return to their own country, but others prefer to enjoy, away from the disturbances of Ḥaḍramaut, the pleasures that are there unattainable. Millionaires are also to be found amongst this fluctuating population of Netherlands India, which numbers seventy to eighty thousand souls. Mr. L. W. C. Van den Berg, adviser to the Netherlands India Government, in 1886, published a book, which, besides statistics of the Ḥaḍramī settlement in the East Indian Archipelago, contained also a description of the native land of these immigrants, compiled from information collected from them in Java. In the 19th

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167 century, attempts to become acquainted with this remarkable
114 land, through personal investigation, were not lacking, but these efforts did not yield the desired results.

114 In his chapter on the exploration of the "Southern Borderlands" Hogarth calls Ḥaḍramaut "the most important part of the borderland, the ill-known inner region of the centre" and says of it that it "long remained the despair of the curious in the history and geography of Arabia". Intrepid travellers such as Von Wrede, Hirsch and the Bents have contributed much to our knowledge of the littoral with its roadsteads of el-Makalla and esh-Shiḥr, which has to be passed in order to penetrate into Ḥaḍramaut Proper; here has developed lately a fairly vigorous autocracy, which is practically under British protectorate and which puts no great difficulties in the way of European visitors. But though the authority of the Sultan of al-Makalla also extends over a small part of the hinterland, Ḥaḍramaut Proper falls outside its scope, and most of the princes and princelings there, who are at loggerheads with one another, are not very kindly disposed towards him. The aforementioned travellers therefore scarcely, if at all, managed to cast a hurried glance over a small section of that mysterious valley-complex. He who succeeded in reaching a Ḥaḍramī town, was speedily ejected and might deem himself lucky to have escaped with his life. A quiet visit to the inhabited part of the country being thus beset with difficulties, it was even more out of the question for them to investigate the secrets of the Well of Barhūt, that accursed, temporary resting-place of the souls of the Unbelievers, from which, so it was fabled, poisonous gasses belched forth; or to make a pilgrimage to the pre-Muhammadan sanctuary, which is regarded by the Ḥaḍramīs as the tomb of the pre-historic prophet Hūd.

After faithfully reviewing what Von Wrede, Hirsch and the Bents did and what they did not accomplish, Hogarth was right in concluding with the observation that "Hadramaut has yet to be visited by any one so well protected and so

zealously aided in his quest" as Glaser was in his explorations at Marib in the Yemen. "Interest in Hadramaut", he says further, "should not be suffered to decline yet... It is reported the only scene of actual volcanic activity on the mainland of Arabia; but an explorer has yet to see the smoke of Bir Borhut, that great well cursed by Ali, according to the "Jihān-Numā". Moreover its society seems to present peculiar features of great interest to students of Semitic life". 114

So far were we in 1904 and in 1931 we were not much further.

Mr. Van der Meulen had, during the five years when he was first consul and later *chargé d'affaires*, at Djedda, become convinced that the time was ripe for extending the activities of the Netherlands Legation over other sections of the Arabian peninsula than the dual-monarchy of Ibn Sa'ūd, and that it would be desirable for Holland to enter into friendly relations with the Imām Yaḥyā of the Yemen, and, if possible, to insure a suitable reception for the representative of Holland in Ḥaḍramaut, the country of origin of the many Arabs, who seek and find their fortunes in Netherlands India. He received then a commission from the Netherlands Government in this sense, naturally with a recommendation to caution in regard to Ḥaḍramaut. An introduction from the authorities at Aden would easily secure him entrance to the littoral, but whether he would succeed in penetrating Ḥaḍramaut Proper could not be anticipated with any degree of certainty, for, although since the World War their influence there has increased, even the British have so far limited their own direct contact with that territory chiefly to aerial reconnaissances, which have furnished some excellent photographs.

Even here in Ḥaḍramaut conditions have slightly improved since the last efforts were made to explore it. The number of Ḥaḍramīs who have achieved prosperity in Netherlands India has increased and many of them have become subjects of the Netherlands Government. The advantages to be derived from a normal, international intercourse, are now

114 realised in Ḥaḍramaut in a much wider circle than a quarter of a century ago. But this unhappy land still lacks that unity which is required to develop the springs of prosperity and to insure safety of life and property. In this respect, the barbaric customs of the Djāhiliyya (the pre-Islamic period) still prevail. For surmounting the difficulties on this score, Van der Meulen had to rely on the experience gained by him both in his earlier capacity as civil servant in Netherlands India and his later activity as diplomatic officer in Arabia, as well as on his proficiency in the Arabic and Malay languages, and, not least, on his own personality. All this has enabled him to take full advantage of the improved opportunities; his trip through the whole of Ḥaḍramaut has indeed been a triumphal progress.

114 121 It is obvious that Van der Meulen's expedition can only to a certain extent be called a journey of exploration. His commission was of a political nature, and it would not have been possible for him, in the allotted time, to combine with it profound geographical and ethnographical researches. But, in order that, should he manage to penetrate into Ḥaḍramaut, this success should as far as possible be made of service to science, he secured the co-operation of his friend, the able German geographer, Dr. H. von Wissmann. The two friends have spared themselves no trouble and have considered no effort or deprivation too great to make the best of the six weeks, which they could devote to the expedition to the littoral and hinterland. They have won the sympathy of influential persons both for themselves and for their work, and have been enabled not only to become acquainted with the chief towns, but also to solve, once for all, the mystery of the Well of Barhūt and to obtain a detailed knowledge of the Ḥaḍramī sanctuary, to which annually in the eighth month of the Muhammadan year, a large proportion of the population make a pilgrimage. They have cursorily examined various ruins, taken many photographs, and Von Wissmann has been able to ascertain enough data to draw the first map of Ḥaḍramaut, based on measure-

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ments and surveying. And far from being driven out of the land with curses, as their forerunners were, there re-echoed everywhere on their departure the wish: "Goodbye and a speedy return".

Far more than they were able to do in the limited time, remains for their successors to accomplish, before it can be said that the country and people of Ḥaḍramaut have been fully described in all their characteristics. The same remark, however, still applies to the greater part of this gigantic peninsula. Let us hope that the trail blazed by Van der Meulen and Von Wissmann may before long be followed by other, thoroughly prepared and well-equipped, devotees of science, who will command the necessary leisure for completing, in every direction, the investigation so intrepidly begun.

It would, on the contrary, be regrettable in every way if that track were to be followed, not by serious investigators, but by more persons like a certain Hans Helfritz, who, a short time after the journey described in this book had been completed, succeeded through a fortunate chance, in making a hurried trip with his camera to the littoral and to a couple of towns in the interior, and whose photographs with nonsensical letter-press attached to them, have appeared in a number of European illustrated papers, in March and April of 1932. This "investigator" understands no Arabic, is absolutely unacquainted with the land and people of Arabia and is equally ignorant of what has already been achieved by others in the exploration of Arabia and especially of Ḥaḍramaut. He seems not even to have heard of his immediate predecessors, for he describes himself as the discoverer of the town of Terim "where no white man had set foot"; he calls the dwellers of Ḥaḍramaut savages and speaks of Arabian cannibals. What is worse, he gives details of his return journey to el-Makalla, which, if any truth underlies the anecdote, prove that he lacked all fitness for intercourse with the people of the country: five Bedouins, who were assigned to him by a chief to act as guides, are said to have

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114 threatened to kill him and only a timely burst of laughter from some women, who happened to be passing by, saved his life! While fully appreciating Hans Helfritz's gifts as a photographer, we should welcome it, if the entry into Ḥaḍramaut were to remain closed, for the time being, against absolutely incompetent globe-trotters. This "historian of music", whose literary composition resembles more an out-of-tune fanfare than a symphony of Beethoven, should leave the exploration of Arabia to those, who are qualified for it and are able to extend our knowledge of the country and to improve the attitude of the people towards foreigners. Trips, such as this of Hans Helfritz, can bring nothing but harm.

Van der Meulen and Von Wissmann have laid solid foundations for a detailed exploration of Ḥaḍramaut; they have smoothed the way for later investigators, who, provided they are endowed with the same tact and modesty, and with the same understanding of Arabian psychology, will be able to complete the task; by their behaviour they have sown the seeds of respect and esteem for the name of European.

May the result of their serious labour be rewarded with that appreciation which their devotion so richly deserves!

C. Snouck Hurgronje.

Leiden, April 1932.

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and the number is not great of those who have succeeded in penetrating within her borders. But it wil not be long before Arabia will be explored throughout its length and breadth, and the ruins of towns, temples and irrigation works of the Minaeans, Sabaeans and Himyarites will yield material for added chapters to the history of the infancy of human culture.

Hitherto, exploration in Arabia has made a slow and difficult progress.[1] It is, in fact, only two and a half centuries old, and the explorers who, during that period, have returned to tell the tale of their experiences, have followed each other at long intervals. Two regions, especially, attracted their interest: The Hedjaz, the land of the Holy Cities, Mecca and Medina; and the Yemen, the "Arabia Felix" of the Romans, where are found the remains of ancient civilizations.

The Hedjaz has no longer many secrets for the Westerner. C. Niebuhr's party in 1763 showed the task and led the way. J. L. Burckhardt more than a century ago did the first important scientific exploration work. He was followed by R. F. Burton. In 1884—'85 Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje, under the name of ʿAbdu 'l-Ghaffâr, carried through his investigations into the Holy City of Mecca. Foolish misgivings of a European representative at Djedda forced him to give up his work and leave the country, but the data for his classic and unrivalled work *Mecca* were saved.[2] Without minimizing the meritorious work of other explorers of this part of Arabia, I mention here, besides the name of Snouck Hurgronje, only that of the author of *Arabia Deserta*, C. M. Doughty[3], who for a couple of years, shared in the wanderings and sufferings of the poor Bedouin tribes, living in semi-starvation in Northern Arabia. He barely escaped with his life when approaching the sacred territory of Mecca. His book, which only late in the day received the recognition due to it, is in truth the epic of the wandering life of the Bedouins.

[1] Cf. D. G. Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*, London, 1905.

[2] Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, Haag, 1888, 2 vols. The second part appeared in English: *Mecca*, Leiden, 1931.

[3] Charles M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge, 1888.

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E. Glaser did research in the Yemen for a few years, but after returning home, died before he had worked up all his copious and valuable material. It is only now at last that steps are being taken towards publishing the greater part of his scientific legacy. H. Burchardt was murdered whilst in the midst of his explorations. Before them Halévy travelled in the disguise of a Yemeni Jew through the otherwise unexplored districts of the Djôf and Nedjrân. He thus had the chance of seeing the land of Saba and the remains of the famous dam of Ma'rib, but had to return too soon to do more than raise a corner of the veil which still hangs over that land of "the Queen of the South". Though a great work has been accomplished by many a learned explorer the standard works on the Yemen are still to come. May they soon appear![1]

Ḥaḍramaut was, at one time, closely connected with the land of the Yemen. The name itself really belongs to the broad Wâdî[2] Ḥaḍramaut, with the towns of el-Qaṭn, Shîbâm, Sêwûn and Terîm. In Sabaean times, this wâdî, many miles in width, with its fertile loam soil, must have been a veritable paradise on earth, thanks to its highly developed system of dams, reservoirs and irrigation channels. Enough still remains to make it understood that the surrounding districts down to the southern coast, with the harbours of Makalla and esh-Shiḥr, were included in the name of the most famous part: "Ḥaḍramaut". In the following pages, whenever "Ḥaḍramaut Proper" is meant these words are used.

The name of Ḥaḍramaut occurs as early as the book of Genesis, chapter X, 26 ("Ḥâṣarmâweth" contains the same radicals as Ḥaḍramaut). Different opinions exist as regards

[1] The work of Dr. C. Rathjens of Hamburg and of my travelling companion Dr. H. von Wissmann, published by the University of Hamburg, marks an important advance in the history of the exploration of 'Arabia Felix'. Part 1 has already appeared. *Rathjens-v. Wissmannsche Südarabien-Reise.* Band I, *Sabäische Inschriften.* Bearbeitet von J. H. Mordtmann und Eugen Mittwoch, Hamburg, 1932.

[2] A *wâdî* is a, generally dry, river-bed.

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the meaning of this name, but none of them is scientifically established. The Ḥaḍramis themselves have several etymologies, but give the preference, nevertheless, to that which is connected with their national Prophet, Hūd. The last words of Hūd, when he reached the end of his earthly life, and the people of ʿĀd, who then inhabited the land, were not yet converted by his preaching, are said to have been: "*ḥaḍara 'l-mauf*", "death has come". This referred as much to himself as to the people of ʿĀd, who were destroyed by Allah.

In Roman times Ḥaḍramaut was included in the term "Arabia Felix". Was it not known then as the country of the aloë, of incense and myrrh? And did not the great trade route from the Indies to the coasts of the Mediterranean pass from the ports of Southern Arabia through Ḥaḍramaut to Yemen, and thence northwards to Egypt and Syria? The territories of the Sabaean and Himyaritic kings must have extended as far as the wādis of Ḥaḍramaut. When those kingdoms collapsed, when their splendid irrigation works vanished, and when civilization perished, the desert gained the mastery; the great works which once existed here were covered for centuries by the sand-dunes piled up gradually by the hot winds of the desert. Unity broke down, civilized peoples could no longer maintain their existence and their place was taken by the sons of Ishmael "whose hand is against every man". From that time onwards the Yemen and Ḥaḍramaut led their own life of struggle and poverty; the fructifying contact between the two regions was broken. Glaser, indeed, once turned his eyes in the direction of the wādis of Ḥaḍramaut and actually made the first sketch-map of the country between the Yemen and Ḥaḍramaut, from data collected by word of mouth from the Bedouins. But the few explorers who desired to investigate Ḥaḍramaut realized that the way there must lead, not through the Yemen, but by way of the seaport towns on the southern coast of Arabia.

Adolph von Wrede was the first scientific traveller who succeeded in penetrating into the region of Ḥaḍramaut and in

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collecting much valuable data there. Little is known of this remarkable man. Heinrich, Freiherr von Maltzan, who edited Von Wrede's *Reise in Ḥadhramaut Beled Beny ᶜYssà und Beled el Ḥadschar* (Braunschweig, 1870) only tells us regarding him that he was born in Westphalia, served about 1830 as an officer in the Greek army, was then in Asia Minor and, later on, in Egypt. While there, about the spring of 1843, he started on his memorable journey of exploration. He only appears to have returned to Europe at a much later date in order to publish the record of his travels. He did not succeed in doing this in his fatherland, for Alexander von Humboldt and Leopold von Buch considered him to be a trickster whose reports were too fantastic to be believed. In England, Von Wrede seemed on the point of meeting with more recognition, for an abstract of his report was inserted by the Geographical Society in their Journal, and a publisher was found who was willing to take the manuscript, but unfortunately, the translater committed suicide, and only the text of the account of the journey was recovered, maps, drawings and water-colours being lost.

Von Wrede appears to have turned his back on Europe, a deeply disappointed man. Not far from Makalla, beside the road along which Von Wrede first travelled, a great pile of stones was pointed out to us by our Bedouins: "There lies buried a Christian who was murdered about 100 years ago, when he tried to get into our country." My travelling companion and I thought at first of Von Wrede, who, perhaps, had the last of his many disappointments on this spot. But after closer investigation we discovered that Von Wrede finally enlisted in the Turkish army and died as a poor and unknown man in a hospital in Constantinople.

We followed Von Wrede's route for some time both on our journey inland and back. We made much and grateful use of his detailed notes and of his map. We must make one reservation, however, with regard to the expedition that he claims to have made from Ḫurēba in Wādī Doᶜan to ᶜAmd, Ḥōra,

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114 Sahwa and the Baḥr es-Sāfī, and back to ʿAmd and Khurēba. Von Wissmann, while surveying Wādī ʿAmd, established the fact that Von Wrede has described this wādī so differently from what it is like in reality, placing all the villages that lie up-stream from ʿAmd down-stream, describing the steep *ʿaqaba* leading from ʿAmd to the south as a smooth slope, and failing so entirely in every part of his description that Von Wissmann became completely convinced that Von Wrede cannot have made this journey himself. So the story of his adventure at the border of Baḥr es-Sāfī where his measuring-line sank into quicksand as if in water may have had its origin in tales he heard in Wādī Dōʿan about caravans sinking into sands or more probably breaking into a salt-lake covered by a salt crust, invisible on account of drifting sand. As far as we could control the other parts of his journey up to Ṣīf in Wādī Dōʿan, his northernmost point, and in Wādī Ḥadjr, his descriptions of the country are good and exact, and we still see in Von Wrede *the* great explorer of Ḥaḍramaut: those who followed did less than he, who blazed the trial.

The years went by and it was not until January 1893 that a second traveller attempted to follow the example of von Wrede, an example so illustrious, yet leading to so many disappointments. This was Leo Hirsch, who published his experiences of these journeys under the title: *Reisen in Süd-Arabien, Mahra-land und Hadramût* (Leiden, 1897). It took Hirsch half a year to reach the interior from the coast. He went from Aden to esh-Shiḥr, and on to Sēḥūt and Qishn, and back to Makalla. There, for the moment, courage forsook him and he returned to Aden. Then armed with fresh introductions from the British authorities, he turned his steps once more to Makalla, where he was, nevertheless, to wait for yet another month before being granted permission to go inland. Hirsch was successful in penetrating further than Von Wrede into "Ḥaḍramaut Proper". He was the first European to see the cities of Shibām, Sēwūn and Terīm, but there was no question

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of going further. He was only able to stay for a few hours with his host in Terim, and then was forced, by the threatening attitude of the Sayyids, to make his way back again.

Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Bent attempted the journey in the valley of Ḥaḍramaut soon after Leo Hirsch. They arrived at Makalla in December 1893, thus a few months after Hirsch's successful expedition. They were able to start inland at the end of a week, but were not to go further than Shibām. Qabr Hūd and Bīr Barhût were spared the visit of *Naṣrānīs*[1] for decades yet. The account of the journeys made in S. Arabia by this energetic couple was published by Mrs. Bent in 1900.[2]

Herewith the short list of our predecessors in Ḥaḍramaut has come to an end. A report indeed reached us of two English officers who undertook an expedition to Ḥaḍramaut, but, as far as we could discover, the results of their journey were never published. One of them, W. H. Lee Warner, merely gives *Notes on the Hadhramaut* as a supplement to an article by R. A. Cochrane in the *Geographical Journal* (Vol. lxxvii, 1931, p. 209—222). Lee Warner went in 1918 on a diplomatic errand to Shibām but he did not go beyond that place. Important exploration work has also been carried out by a squadron of the R.A.F. at Aden, under Squadron-Leader the Hon. R. A. Cochrane who, in the above-mentioned article *An Air Reconnaissance of the Hadhramaut*, gives impressions of that country as seen from the air. Qabr Hūd was seen and photographed on this expedition, but Bīr Barhût could not be found.

It was not given to Dr. Wilhelm Hein to tread the soil of

[1] In daily language the word *Naṣrānī*, plural *Naṣārā*, is used when speaking of Christians. Whenever less stress is laid on the difference of religion and more on that of nationality, they are spoken of as *Efrendjīs*, a word which is a corruption of Franks. In Arabic all white-skinned, fair-haired and blue-eyed strangers are called *Efrendjīs*. As a rule the word sounds less odious than the name *Naṣrānīs*.

[2] Theodore Bent and Mrs. Theodore Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London, 1900.

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"Ḥaḍramaut Proper". In the year 1902, accompanied by Frau Hein he landed at Qishn, on the southern coast of Arabia. There, for two months, he lived almost as a prisoner, but he made use of his captivity to collect, among much else, important information about Ḥaḍramaut, which was published in the *Mitteilungen der K. K. Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, Vol. 57 (1914), p. 32—58.

The Egyptian Government, at the request of the late Sultan of Makalla and esh-Shiḥr, commissioned Mr. O. H. Little to survey the geography and geology of the country west of Makalla up to Wādī Ḥadjr, with a view to finding out its mineral resources. The result of this enquiry was *The Geography and Geology of Makalla* (Government Press, Cairo, 1925). We gratefully made use of the map included in this valuable work.

This short enumeration of those who have devoted themselves to the exploration of Ḥaḍramaut must not be closed without mention of the work of Dr. L. W. C. van den Berg, who, under orders from the Government of Netherlands India, and without ever having set foot on the soil of Southern Arabia, wrote *Le Ḥadhramout et les colonies arabes dans l'Archipel Indien* (Batavia, 1886). This book was written with the help of learned Ḥaḍramīs in Batavia. In this way even a map of Ḥaḍramaut was constructed. Naturally, both the book and the map have many shortcomings, but they have rendered good service up till now. The R.A.F. officers have used this map on their flights and have already made some important corrections in it.

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CHAPTER I.

THE DEPARTURE.

ADEN—MAKALLA.

We owe our journey to Ḥaḍramaut to a mission entrusted to us by the Netherlands Government. Later it will become clear how deep-lying the contact is between Ḥaḍramaut and Netherlands India, and how self-evident it is that the Dutch Government should wish to make itself accurately acquainted with the social and political conditions in the native land of the tens of thousands of Arabs, who form such an important element in the social fabric of that country. The Ḥaḍramis are not absorbed into the union of Indonesian peoples, and many of them keep a firm hold on the connection with their own country, in the hope that some day they may be able to return there, to await the Day of Resurrection and Judgment in that hallowed ground. The charge entrusted to Dr. van den Berg to write his book, which was published by the Government of Netherlands India, resulted from the practical needs of that Government with regard to the heterogeneous peoples of Indonesia. So also with the mission entrusted to me.

Although I knew how difficult it had been made, until now, for a Christian and Westerner to penetrate into the land of the fanatical Ḥaḍramī, yet I had some hope of success in the attempt, and this for two reasons.

The years that I had spent in the civil service of Netherlands India had given me the conviction that the Ḥaḍramī is grateful for the treatment which he receives there from our Government and for the opportunities which he has to save money and to get on in the world. As a government official of Netherlands India I had not reckoned in vain on finding a welcome among the Ḥaḍramī families having relations with Indo-

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nesia, and a conversation carried on in the Malay language often worked wonders.

My second advantage lay in the fact that I had represented my country for several years at Djedda, the seaport of Mecca, the Exalted. My knowledge of conditions in the sacred land of Islam and of the Wahhâbî régime, only recently established there by that great Arab Ibn Sa'ûd, procured for me willing listeners in circles where there was no connection with the East Indies.

In order that the journey should serve not only a diplomatic, but also a scientific purpose, it was necessary to have a travelling companion who would take upon himself that side of the work. Dr. Hermann von Wissmann accepted the offer to share the Ḥaḍramaut adventure. We had already met in Djedda and learned to appreciate each other. He had gained experience of travel and research with Dr. C. Rathjens of Hamburg in exploration in the Hedjaz and the Yemen. The large map of the district over which we travelled, the sketch maps, the ground-plans, and the geographical, geological, and botanical information, contained in the present book, are his work.

At the end of April 1931 we met in Aden. Our plans could not have succeeded without the cooperation of the British authorities. The Bents in their book write very gloomily over the attitude of the Aden Government towards them.[1] Hirsch had a better experience[2], and we perhaps, the best of all. The Resident, Colonel Reilly, promised help and, instead of speaking with discouragement of our chances, as had been done up to now both by Arabs and Europeans, he considered that we were by no means without chance of success. He saw the greatest difficulty in the hot season that would be sure

[1] Th. Bent and Mrs. Th. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London, 1900, p. 72 *sq.*

[2] Leo Hirsch, *Reisen in Süd-Arabien, Mahra-land und Hadramût*, Leiden, 1897, p. 2, 109.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 M42 Hadhramaut M42

grown banks; we saw it no more after we had passed the grotto in the rock-wall to the left, where it made its appearance. The vegetation, however, continued rich and varied, and we could see from the little springs at the foot of the rocky wall that there was still a great quantity of water. Great blocks of rock had fallen here into the wādī from the steep sloping walls. In some places these walls were completely hollowed out by wind and water, and only a crust remained.

From Lubēb Von Wissmann had begun to survey the route. Up to that point we were able to use the excellent map made by Little on his geological survey of the mountainous country of Makalla in 1919—'20.[1]

The valley now rises more rapidly, and it requires much patience and skill to lead the loaded camels and donkeys over the great blocks of rock. The mountain camel knows this sort of ground, passes neatly through the blocks, and as he steps aside and turns thinks of the load projecting on either side of his body. On a warning call from the leaders: "Take care left!" or "Look out right!" the animal goes cautiously a little further away from the place where its load is threatened.

At the end of the wādī, about two miles beyond Ḥōṭat el-Laṣb, there is a little plateau to which a short ascent leads us. There is a plantation of date-palms and *dhura*, which is still within the boundary of Ḥōṭat el-Laṣb. At the end of this small plateau lies the village of Lubēb. We leave it on our left and descend towards Wadī Ḥimem, which, again, is shut in by high walls of limestone. The farther we advance the narrower becomes this wādī. The camel path along the steep cliffs to the right is blocked here and there with boulders. Some miles after Lubēb, the now narrow rock ravine makes a bend. Here is a splendid spring with a drinking-trough of masonry for the animals. The place is named el-Ḥallāf. On account of the road survey we are compelled to camp as soon as darkness falls. Indeed it would be difficult to march further in this valley of boulders.

[1] O. H. Little, *The Geography and Geology of Makalla*, Cairo, 1925.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

amongst the broken stones of the ruins, also little bits of rough, dark glass.

A quarter of an hour's walk distant there is another group of ruins that they call here "the Graves of the Kings". All those who are following us out of curiosity drop behind, when we go on through the suffocating heat between sand- and loam hills on the way to the Graves of the Kings, which lie in a great square S. S. W. of el-Meshhed. We find few inscriptions here. The hills are separated from each other, and have on their tops the foundations of solid walls forming a thirty feet square enclosure. The stones are not very large and are well and smoothly hewn. The ruins here are generally covered with piles of loam, very possibly the remains of the mud upper parts of the buildings. Many red-brown fragments of pottery lie among the stones.

The assumption made by the Bents [1], that the ground has been raised more than thirty feet by drifting sand and that thus the old buildings are to a great extent buried, seems to be incorrect. The opposite supposition is more likely, namely, that the *sēl*-bed became more deeply washed away when the barrages and irrigation canals were no longer kept in repair. The ruins now all lie upon the hill-tops, the loess around them having been all washed away.

Sayyid Ḥasan el-ᶜAṭṭâs, the eldest brother now in Ḥaḍramaut of our companion Sayyid ᶜAluwī and the energetic head of the family in Ḥurēḍa, came from el-Meshhed to meet us. The father in Batavia had sent telegraphic instructions to give a good reception to the first envoy of the Netherlands to Ḥaḍramaut. Directly he received news of our approach, Sayyid Ḥasan mounted a *ḥadjīn* (riding camel) and set out to meet us. Being in his own country he dared to wear the khaki sun-helmet of the *Efrendjīs*, when riding. Everything, later on, showed his progressiveness, his energy and daring. Sayyid Ḥasan acted henceforth as our host, and we had a good time under his guidance. Had he had enough time to accompany

[1] Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 104 *sq.*

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

helped by the motor-car in his great work of pacifying and opening up Ḥaḍramaut.

We depart in two fine cars belonging to the Sultan of Sēwūn for Terīm, the city to which Leo Hirsch has preceded us and from which nearly forty years ago the sayyids with their fanaticism and hatred of Christianity forced him to flee within a few hours of his arrival. An Englishman, Mr. Boscawen, reached there also a full year in advance of us, but he did not publish a description of his journey and, according to report, only came for sport. Aeroplanes of the R. A. F. at Aden, with Colonels Cochrane and Lake and Flight-Lieutenant Rickards on board, also once flew high above the town, but they were only making an aerial reconnaissance, although the scouts themselves felt a growing desire within them to set foot for once in this wonderful town. The Ḥaḍramis say of it: "Terīm — and then thou desirest nothing else."

The cars take us through winding mud lanes between palm-groves to the hilly stretch of sand and loam outside the town. The palm-trees are planted well apart from each other in the sand; the fields of *dhura* come to an end but the little dykes of the area that can only be cultivated when the rains are sufficient are to be seen for long afterwards. Quite soon we pass the ruins of a town, Maryama, probably of great antiquity. The castle and the town were laid waste in a local war, and, of the cultivation of the land, only the little dykes, which divided the fields into squares, still remain. Close to Maryama there was an old road which crossed southwards over the mountain-wall. My companion climbed this *ʿaqaba* called Duqm el-Aswad and found on the rock-wall close to the *djōl* scrollings and grafitti probably made, many centuries ago, by the Bedouins of passing caravans. Some distance further on the villages and palm-groves at the foot of the southern mountain-wall come to an end. The loam vanishes under an ever thicker layer of sand and sand-dunes, and the cars stall several times. In accordance with the instructions of the Sultan we do not go by the normal way, through the plain, to Terīm, but follow

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-S (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

000 bands of white and grey, against the dark green of the palms. The soldiers and children of the garrison stood crowded together to enjoy to the last this short variation in the monotony of their life as a besieged people. Then, through plantations of young palms and, after that, over uncultivated stretches of sand, our way led to that last outpost of el-Qeʿēṭī in Ḥaḍramaut, Shibām. As had been arranged, we announced our arrival directly to our friends Āl Ṭùwēy and Laʿdjam at their garden home. Once again we stay in this Arabian Nights' palace, bathe in the clear, lukewarm swimming-pool, and enjoy the luxury offered us here by our hospitable friends.

Early on the following day we go to Shibām to take photographs of Ḥimyaritic inscriptions and sculptures, which are to be found in the shop of a local dealer in antiquities. It is already unbearably hot in the narrow lanes between the tall houses, where, moreover, market is being held. We are thankful to turn our backs on this unhygienic but wonderful New York of Ḥaḍramaut and to go by car to the Sultan's palace in el-Qaṭn.

609 172 Sultan ʿAlī bin Ṣalāḥ bin Muḥammad bin ʿUmar bin ʿAwaḍ bin ʿAbdallāh el-Qeʿēṭī gives us a hearty reception. He places an escort at Von Wissmann's disposal to show him some rock inscriptions and ruins on the southern bank of the wādī. It is very hot and the rocks are steep and high; the guides' interest in this inexplicable hobby of the Christians is extremely small, and Von Wissmann returns rather disappointed with the results of his excursion. We then go together in the Sultan's car to ʿUqrān, a village about half-way back to Shibām, at the entrance to the short side-wādī of the name in the southern wall of the main wādī. Hirsch[1] and the 114 172 Bents[2] have been here. Hirsch gives a detailed description from which it would seem that there was more to be

[1] L. Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 191, 192.

[2] Th. and Mrs. Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 124 and 135. They call it Al Agran and Al Gran.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

seen at that time than there is now. The people inform us that the late Sultan had a stone, bearing an inscription, removed from the *masdjid* into which it was built and that he presented it to one of the *Efrendjis.*[1] There are still a few mounds of ruins to be seen in ᶜUqrān and, further, several of the simple mud houses of the place are built on foundations dating from pre-Islamic times. Walls and evenly made stairs leading to the inhabited storeys of the houses have been put together of stones, excellently hewn and bound with a kind of mortar unknown at the present time.

After having had our meal with the Sultan at el-Qaṭn we go on in two cars to Hēnin. Vegetation ceases near el-Furṭ, then we drive for a short time over the layer of loess, but after that the drift-sand gets the upper hand. Sand-storms always arise in the afternoon in this region; they are caused by the sand becoming greatly heated and by the rise of columns of hot air. Before long we were absorbed into a burning shroud of sand and were fighting our lonely way onwards. Occasionally a bit of the rock-wall can be seen through the mist, and that has to suffice for the drivers to take their bearings by. After some groping and going astray we really do arrive at Hēnin. One of the cars has motor trouble and, after vain attempts to repair it, has to be left behind. Our friend Bin Martaᶜ is unfortunately away and his car with him. Wādī Ḥaḍramaut begins here and is six miles wide, but still we venture the crossing in one overburdened car from Hēnin on the north bank to el-Qaᶜūẓa on the south side, at the point where Wādī Rakhīya, Wādī 'l-Kasr and Wādī ᶜAmd unite and form the great Ḥaḍramaut Valley. Then we drive on over the clay layer and then again over drift-sand, going as fast as possible so as to avoid stalling. The high promontory of rock behind el-Qaᶜūẓa is a good landmark.

Shortly before sunset we emerge out of the fog of sand just in front of the closed gates of the castle, to the speechless

[1] This *Efrendji* was Mr. Bent, who reproduces the stone opposite p. 145 of his book.

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At midday we reached Ḥurēḍa, where, unfortunately, we had to change camels. This generally takes up more than a day, but our el-ʿAṭṭās friends knew how to get things done for us more quickly, and by that same afternoon of June 9th we were on our way again into Wādī ʿAmd.

Sayyid ʿAluwī el-ʿAṭṭās, who had been our companion since Makalla, remained behind here. On long, wearying journeys one becomes intimately acquainted with the weak spots in one another's characters and so learns to value the good points all the more. Sayyid ʿAluwī had been a patient, good-humoured comrade to us two restless Westerners, with our endless questions and desire to investigate. By his introduction the houses and hearts of Ḥurēḍa were opened to us and Ḥurēḍa had been the key to Ḥaḍramaut for us. Our thankful recollections of that country can be summed up in the names el-ʿAṭṭās and el-Kāf.

2. POOR AND DRY—BUT RICH IN RUINS.

We stroll through Ḥurēḍa, attended by a goodly retinue, and not till we are outside the town do we mount our camels and say farewell. Von Wrede is the only European who claims to have travelled through Wādī ʿAmd, but it is a claim that we must call in question. Anyone who will go to the trouble of comparing Von Wrede's geographical descriptions of Wādī ʿAmd with Von Wissmann's map appended to the present work will probably experience the same feelings of doubt regarding that part of Von Wrede's accounts of his travels.

Just after leaving Ḥurēḍa we passed the largest area of ruins that we saw in Ḥaḍramaut. The mounds extend for a distance of about two and a half miles. A great quantity of small stones from the *sēl*-bed were at hand on the spot for building purposes, and this is, doubtless, the reason why so small a remnant of the walls still stands and why no inscriptions were found. Further up the wādī we constantly passed groups of ruins mostly crowning the hills lying in front of the mountain-wall.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

He cannot resist the wishes of his guests and very soon there is again a crowd of inquisitive people in the sweltering upper room, staring at us and hampering us with questions and loud conversation.

2. PROSE AND POETRY IN WĀDĪ ḤADJR.

We manage, by exercising much insistence, to get off at four o'clock that afternoon. There are two roads to Makalla: one goes direct through the mountains, the other makes a great circuit by following the main wādī as far as the sea and then going up the coast to Makalla. The mountain route is the shortest but the hardest; we are told that it is *too* hard for our camels, who are not strong. Moreover, it would be unsafe for our little company in the mountains, in the absence of an armed escort. Considering that even Little, with a big military escort, was attacked in this country — a sayyid who was acting as his guide was killed in an engagement — we accepted the assertions of the people in Ṣidāra as reasonable and therefore chose the detour by way of the wādī, which however has a bad name for malaria. Little had to contend much with this illness: his escort had to be almost entirely renewed after a short sojourn in Wādī Ḥadjr. We tried to avoid risk by sleeping away from human habitation and, as far as possible, on high-lying, dry ground.

The caravan was under the leadership of a strong, slight Arab, of the name of Dhēb. He had spent his youth as hostage in the Sultan's palace at Makalla. This shows that Ṣidāra some twenty years ago was still a part of the Qeᶜēṭī territory, but that the Sultan considered it necessary to strengthen his hold on the country by bringing up the sons of the leading families in his palace. It was to this circumstance that Dhēb owed his education — for this country a very good one — and he was much more cultivated than the other young men of Ṣidāra. In spite of his long hair, his face was handsomer and gentler in expression than is usually the case here. We also had

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

with us ᶜAlī, an old and rather sour man, who was proud of being able to read and who faithfully spelt out the names of the places that we passed. When we had gone a little way he asked if we would buy a pair of spectacles for him at the *sūq*, the bazaar, of the Bandar (the seaport town, *i. e.* Makalla) so that he could better read the Koran. Our third man, ᶜAbdallāh, is a very ordinary sort of Bedouin; he speaks little, but startles us time and again on the march by his monotonously ugly and melancholy Bedouin singsong: *"Yā dānā . . . ā . . . ā . . . āl"* etc. Finally there is little Muḥammad, an indefatigable boy of twelve, who is now having his first experience of a journey of this kind and who has never yet seen either the sea or a town. Besides these, a weaver from Makalla has joined our caravan with a baggage camel and two boys. We ourselves have an enormous camel that we call the *fīl* or elephant, a female camel for the milk supply, and a young and slender animal making its first trip.

The caravan leaders here wear a strange kind of sandals. Broad strips of leather cover not only the whole upper part of the foot but extend out beyond the sole, which makes a rustling noise in walking. It is meant to keep off snakes and scorpions, especially on night journeys. Because of the richer vegetation and greater moisture, these creatures seem to be more prevalent here than in the arid interior, where sandals are chiefly worn in the afternoon to protect the feet from the heat of the ground.

Nearly all the men of the village accompany us through the palm-gardens to the river; we wade through the warm water and then come to more date-groves. After that there are *dhura* fields, which finally give place to shrubs, grasses and acacia trees. We make a short cut where the river bends; the fringe of palms continues uninterruptedly beside the water.

Dhēb declares himself ready for *takalluf*, *i. e.* for doing his utmost, so it is perhaps possible that we shall reach Makalla in six days. As soon as we enter the region mapped out by Little, Von Wissmann is able to give up his detailed survey

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

of the route and we are free to travel in the darkness, that is to say, after sunset and before sunrise.

Some two hours after starting, we arrive at the Qeᶜēṭī frontier. Here, besides a castle named Ḥuṣn Bin Dighāl and manned by the inhabitants of the wādī, we find the first stronghold occupied by a garrison of Yāfiᶜ soldiers of the *Dōla* (*i. e.* Government); it bears the name of Bedaᶜ Qeᶜār. We pass by this lonely castle; the soldiers, who are weakened by malaria, stare inquisitively after us, crowding each other aside to get a view of us from the little windows near the roof. We have come nearer to the river again at this point, and before long our path goes through fertile date-gardens, beside and across irrigation canals full of water. It is already growing dark as we approach Ḥūte, the first village on Little's map. We had decided not to spend the nights in villages and houses, if it were at all possible to avoid it, so as to have no bother from inquisitive visitors; we let the camels kneel down for the night where the slopes of a hill began a little way beyond Ḥūte.

We had not been able to replenish our stock of food at Ṣidāra, and here also the men we send out to do so come back empty-handed. The rocky slope was unpleasant to lie on and the proximity of the river and irrigated fields makes the atmosphere very damp, which is oppressive at night. Mosquitoes, the tormentors of mankind in hot, damp countries, make their appearance here again. In the middle of the night we were startled by a hyena that was snuffling round us but ran away like a hare when some of our company awoke and got to their feet.

On the following morning, June 17th, we did not succeed in making an early start. The camels had to be generously watered; then we were told that one of them had strayed, though in reality our men were only trying to give the animals plenty of time to feed from the *rāk* bushes which grow around. Bedouins invariably do everything they can to keep their camels in the best possible condition.

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 Ml Middle East .
Hadhramaut MM2

CHAPTER VIII

COTTON IN ARABIA

Arabia is divided into numerous groups, most of which are actually principalities. The boundaries of the subdivisions are indefinite and so is the authority of the local rulers in most cases. Some of these groups like to call themselves independent countries. One is called a kingdom. Some are called protectorates. The British have exercised the major influence over all these groups for 50 years and still do but in varying ways. One small spot of land actually belongs to the British Crown.

ADEN PROTECTORATE

The narrow strip of land along the southwestern tip of the Arabian Peninsula includes a number of territories and dependencies of Arab chiefs which have been organized under a protectorate treaty with the British, and is called the Protectorate of Aden.

The Protectorate is about the size of Arizona. It has about 660,000 people, many of whom are nomads. The country is mostly mountainous though there are a few valleys and flood plains capable of cultivation. The Food and Agriculture Organization estimates that there are about 270,000 acres actually in cultivation at the present time. As the plains receive only about four inches of rainfall annually, irrigation is required. Considerable water is available as rainfall in the mountains is rather heavy, approaching 40 inches annually, but facilities are inadequate for catching and directing the water.

The economy of the protectorate rests almost solely on agriculture. The principal crops are grains and some fruits, principally dates. While a small quantity of coarse grains is normally exported, the country usually imports about half its bread grain requirements.

COTTON

Cotton has been grown in this area in small quantities for hundreds of years, but never in commercial quantities until very recent years when British interests began promoting production.

The following article on the present status and prospects of cotton production in the Protectorate was written especially for this report by the research staff of the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation, London, with the collaboration of Major Congdon, Manager of the Abyan Board in the Aden Protectorate.

RECENT HISTORY

"During the last war to increase the production of food, the old Abyan irrigation system was reopened and the headworks were partially restored under the direction of the Department of Agriculture. The reclaimed areas were used mainly for sorghum, bulrush millet and simsim, but it soon became

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden mm1 Hadhramaut mm2

1950		
British	2,428	10,890,157
French	118	550,895
Italian	268	785,461
American	69	306,707
Others	1,400	5,451,664
	4,283	17,984,884

A 506

Port facilities are described on pages 54–5.

Chapter 12: Archæology

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An expedition sponsored by the American Foundation for the study of Man carried out archaeological excavations in March and April, 1950, in the territory of the Sharif of Beihan in the Western Aden Protectorate. The expedition was under the leadership of Mr. Wendell Phillips and the archaeological work was directed by Professor W. F. Albright of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

The main excavation took place on the mound of Hagr Kohlan at the northern end of Wadi Beihan. This site has been known by hearsay to scholars for a number of years and is identified by inscriptions with the ancient city of Timna or Thamna mentioned by classical geographers as the capital of the kingdom of Katabania or Qatabán. It had not, however, been previously examined by an archaeological party.

A survey showed that the city within the walls, apart from suburbs and cemeteries, covered an area of some 70 acres. Traces of large buildings of very heavy stone construction were visible on the surface.

Excavations at the south gate and in an adjoining street showed that the city was defended in that part by a stone wall and a sloping stone revetment. The gate towers were of very heavy, but rough, construction and were marked by a large number of inscriptions, some of them texts of considerable length. These inscriptions were of different dates and the series probably covered several centuries. In the street some of the buildings were preserved to an average height of over ten feet above the street level. The city had been destroyed by a general conflagration probably in the first half of the first century B.C.

A small number of fragments of pottery of Mediterranean origin were found among the ruins. The most striking find was a pair of hollow cast bronze lions, ridden by cupids. The figures, which were some 30 inches in length and had originally been fixed to the exterior wall of a building, were Hellenistic in style but made, as was shown by inscriptions on the bases, in Southern Arabia.

A very considerable number of inscriptions were found in the excavations and elsewhere, including some graffiti in a very primitive form of the South Arabian alphabetic script.